Genghis Khan

The History of the World Conqueror

by

'Ala-ad-Din 'Ata-Malik Juvaini

translated from the text of
Mizra Muhammad Qazvini

by

J. A. Boyle

with a new introduction and bibliography by
David O. Morgan

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mative and attractive. The best general account of the Mongol imperial phenomenon is probably still J. J. Saunders, *The History of the Mongol Conquests* (1971), though E. D. Phillips, *The Mongols* (1969) is useful for its plates and its archaeological material. D. O. Morgan, *The Mongols* (1986) was an attempt at a kind of synthesis of work on the subject at the stage which had been reached by the mid 1980s. It is already out of date in a number of areas. As the mention of these publications - only a selection from those which could have been discussed - may have demonstrated, the study of the history of the Mongol Empire has perhaps been more vibrant since Boyle published his translation of Ju'vaini than in any comparable period. But whatever progress may have been made in the past forty years, scholars and students - even those who can read Persian - still need to refer to this, Boyle's finest achievement, and they will continue to have to do so for the foreseeable future. The new edition is necessary and timely.

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**TRANSLATOR'S INTRODUCTION**

1. **THE AUTHOR**

'Ala-al-Dīn' Ata-Malik Ju'vaini was born, in all probability, in the year 1225. This is the date given by the Syrian historian Dhahabī and it accords with Ju'vaini's own statement that when he began to work on his history, i.e. during his residence in Qara-Qorum between May, 1252, and September, 1253, he was in his twenty-seventh year. As the name Ju'vaini implies his family was connected with the district of Ju'vain in Khorasan. This district, now known as Jaghatai, lies to the north-west of Nishapur in a valley between the Harda and Jaghatai mountains. The chief town was then Azadvar, a place which afterwards declined in importance but is still to be found on large-scale maps. Yaqut, the celebrated geographer, a contemporary of Ju'vaini, describes Azadvar, which he had visited, as a prosperous little town with mosques and a bazaar; outside the gates was a great caravanserai for the accommodation of merchants. Here it was that Ju'vaini's great-grandfather, Baha-al-Din, had waited upon the Khorazm-Shah Tekish when he passed through on his way to do battle with Sultan Toghril, the last of the Seljuk rulers of Persia. And here was the birthplace of the two famous brothers, Shams-ad-Dīn, the vizier of the Il-Khans, and 'Ala-al-Dīn, the historian of the Mongol invasion.

The family from which they sprang was one of the most distinguished in Persia. Ju'vainis had held high office under both the Seljugs and the Khorazm-Shahs; and they claimed descent from Fadl, the son of ar-Rabi', who succeeded the Barmecides in the service of Harun ar-Rashid and who, in turn,

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1 Most of the information on Ju'vaini's life is derived from the *History of the World-Conqueror* itself supplemented by the various sources gathered together by Muhammad Qazvini in his introduction to the Persian text.

2 Hamdallah in the geographical part of his *Nuzhat-al-Qulūb* (tr. le Strange, 169) mentions only Shams-ad-Dīn, but Daulatshah in his *Memoirs of the Poets* (ed. Browne, 105) refers to Azadvar as the birthplace of both brothers.
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traced his pedigree back to a freedman of 'Uthman, the third Caliph. So often had they occupied the post of sabib-divan or Minister of Finance that the title had become a sort of family surname; it was borne by Juwaini's brother Shams-ad-Din, who did in fact hold this office, though he was also Grand Vizier both to Hulegu and to his son and first successor Abaqa; and it was borne by Juwaini himself, who was actually governor of Baghdad.

Of Juwaini's ancestors Muntajab-ad-Din Badi', the maternal uncle of his great-grandfather, the Baha-ad-Din already mentioned, was a secretary and favourite of Sultan Sanjar the Seljuk. How he intervened to save the life of the poet Vatvat, who had incurred Sanjar's displeasure by his verses, is related in the pages of Juwaini. The author's grandfather, Shams-ad-Din Muhammad, was in the service of the ill-fated Muhammad Khorazm-Shah, whom he accompanied on his flight from Balkh to Nishapur. At the end of his life the Khorazm-Shah appointed him sabib-divan and he was confirmed in this office by Muhammad's son, the reckless adventurer Jalal-ad-Din, whose service he entered after Muhammad's death. He died before Akhlat on the shores of Lake Van in what is now Eastern Turkey, during his master's siege of that town, which lasted, according to the historian Ibn-al-Athir, from the 13th of August, 1239, to the 18th of March, 1240. Nasawi, the secretary and biographer of Jalal-ad-Din, was the executor of Shams-ad-Din's will. In conformity with the dead man's wishes he caused his remains to be transported to his native Juvinia, while his property was conveyed, through trustworthy intermediaries, to his heirs.

This latter circumstance shows that his son, Baha-ad-Din, Juwaini's father, cannot have been with him at Akhlat, and in fact we know nothing of Baha-ad-Din's activities or whereabouts until some two years after his father's death when we read of his presence in Nishapur in Khorasan. He was then about 40 years of age. It seems likely that he had been living quietly on the family estates in Juvainia, at not great distance from Nishapur, of which it was a dependency.

Khorasan, which had suffered terribly during the invasion, was now in a state of utter chaos. The province was not yet completely subdued and there was still sporadic resistance to the Mongols. To add to the confusion, two adherents of Jalal-ad-Din, then but recently dead, used to make raids on the Nishapur area and kill the Mongol officials. In 1232-3 Chin-Temur, the newly appointed governor of Khorasan and Mazandaran, dispatched an officer called Kil-Bolat with instructions to expel or destroy these forces. On the news of his approach Baha-ad-Din together with certain of the leading citizens of Nishapur fled to Tus, where they sought and found sanctuary with one Taj-ad-Din Farizani, who had seized a castle in the midst of the ruined city. Meanwhile Kil-Bolat, after driving off the enemy, had learnt of the fugitives in Tus. He sent to Farizani demanding their return, and Farizani, despite the assurances he had given, at once surrendered them to Kil-Bolat, ‘thinking,’ says Juwaini, ‘that he would put them to death’. If such was his expectation, he was disappointed. Kil-Bolat received them with every honour; and Baha-ad-Din was enrolled in the service of the Mongols. Soon Chin-Temur made him sabib-divan and in 1235-6 he accompanied Korgiz, an Uighur Turk then deputy to Chin-Temur, upon a mission to the Great Khan, Ogedei, the son and first successor of Chingiz-Khan. Ogedei received him very favourably: he gave him a patza, Marco Polo’s ‘tablet of authority’, and a yarligh or firman confirming his appointment as ‘sabib-divan of the lands’.

The return of the mission coincided with the death of Chin-Temur and Korgiz was summoned back to Mongolia to report upon the situation. He was a clever and ambitious man, and he determined to avail himself of this opportunity to advance his own cause. ‘Fortune,’ he said to Juwaini’s father, with whom he was evidently on intimate terms, ‘is like a bird. No one knows on which branch it will alight. I will make the endeavour and find out what exactly has been pre-ordained and what is required by the revolution of the heavens.’ So well did

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he succeed that he returned from Qara-Qorum as the virtual governor of these western territories.

In 1239, he was again in Mongolia, answering certain charges that had been laid against him; and during his absence Bahad-Din acted as his deputy. Again he returned in triumph and Bahad-Din prepared a great feast to welcome him. In 1241, having started on a third journey to Qara-Qorum he was met on route with the news of the Great Khan's death and returned to Khorasan. But having in the course of his journey antagonized one of the officials of the House of Chaghatai, he was shortly afterwards arrested and taken to Almaligh near Kulja in the present day Sinkiang, the residence of Qara-Hulagu, the grandson and successor of Chaghatai, at whose orders he was brutally put to death.

Bahad-Din's position was unaffected by his patron's downfall. He was confirmed in his office by Korgüz's successor, the Emir Arghun, who now, by a decree of the Regent of the Empire, Princess Tröge, Ögedei's widow, was appointed the ruler over an area which extended from the Oxus to Fars and included not only Khorasan and Mazandaran but also Georgia, Armenia and part of Asia Minor and Upper Mesopotamia. In the course of a tour of inspection Arghun had reached Tabriz in Azerbaijan, when he received a summons to attend the quriltai or assembly of the princes at which Gjübük, the son of Ögedei, was elected his successor as Great Khan (1246); and during his absence Juvaini's father, the sabib-divan, acted as his deputy over all these territories. When he returned, loaded with honours by the new Khan, Bahad-Din advanced to meet him as far as Amul in Mazandaran, where he prepared a splendid banquet to welcome his return, just as he had done for his predecessor Korgüz on a similar occasion some seven years before.

Before Arghun could continue on his journey to Azerbaijan he received news of intrigues against him in the Mongol capital; and he determined to return thither without delay. On this journey he was accompanied not only by Bahad-Din but also, at his express desire, by Juvaini himself; who at this time was about twenty-two years of age. The party had reached Talas, the present-day Jambul in Kazakhstan, when they were met with the tidings of Güyük's death, and at the advice of the Mongol general Eljigité Arghun returned to Khorasan to organize the provisioning of the armies under Eljigité's command. In the late summer of 1249 he again set out on the eastward journey and finally reached the ord of Princess Oghul-Ghaimish, in whom, as the widow of Güyük, was vested the Regency of the Empire. His case was duly examined, his enemies discomfited and Arghun himself completely vindicated. On the homeward journey the party (of which Juvaini was one) halted for a month or two at the ord of Yesü, who now ruled over the apanage of Chaghatai. It was here, near the present-day Kulja, only ten years before that Korgüz, Arghun's predecessor, had met his untimely end. The party had arrived in Almaligh in the late summer or early autumn of 1250; when they left it was winter and the roads were blocked with snow, nevertheless they made rapid progress and were soon back in Merv in Khorasan.

Arghun did not remain long in Persia. In August or September, 1251, he again set out for the East in order to be present at the great quriltai which had assembled to elect the new Khan. On this journey too he was accompanied by Juvaini. He had got no further than Talas when he received the news that Möngke had already been elected. It was now mid-winter and the great quantities of snow made travelling almost impossible. Nevertheless he pressed on and finally reached Besh-Balagh, the old Uighur capital, which corresponds to the modern Jimsa, a little to the north-west of Guchen in Sinkiang. From here Arghun sent on a message to inform the new Khan of his approach, but the party did not reach the Mongol Court till the 2nd May, 1252, i.e. nearly a year after Möngke's accession.

Arghun reported to the Khan on the economic situation of the Western lands and as a result of the discussions that followed Möngke instituted a number of reforms in the system of taxation. These deliberations lasted so long that it was not until August or September, 1253, that Arghun finally took his leave. It was during this lengthy stay in the Mongol capital that Juvaini was

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4 See, however, ii, 598 and n. 155.
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persuaded by friends to commence work on a history of the Mongol conquests. When the party set out on the homeward journey he was presented by Möngke with a yarlıgh and a paiza confirming his father in the office of sahib-divan.

Baha-ad-Din was now in his sixtieth year and after some twenty years in the Mongols' service it was his wish to retire into private life, but this was not to be. The fiscal reforms were now being put into practice, and Baha-ad-Din, together with a Mongol called Naimatai, was sent to take over the governorship of Persian Iraq, i.e. Central Persia, and Yezd. He had reached the district of Isfahan when he was taken ill and died.

It is perhaps to administrators like Baha-ad-Din that Persia owes her survival through so many troubled ages. Dynasties might rise and fall but there were always officials to be found who, by cooperating with the new régime, maintained a kind of continuity in the government of the country and saved it from falling into utter ruin and disintegration. The traditions of his ancestors under the Khorazm-Shahs, under the Seljuqs before them and perhaps under earlier dynasties also were upheld by Baha-ad-Din in a period of transition and after his death were carried on by his sons under a new dynasty, that of the Mongol Il-Khans of Persia.

The founder of that dynasty, Prince Hülêgû, a younger brother of the Great Khan, was now advancing westwards at the head of an immense army, his first objective being the destruction of the Isma'îlis or Assassins of Alamut. In Kish, to the south of Samarqand, famous afterwards as the birthplace of Tamerlane, he was met by Arghun in November, 1255. Arghun had again been the victim of intrigues at Court and with Hülêgû’s encouragement he now set out for Qara-Qorum to defend himself against his accusers. The administration of the Western lands he entrusted, under Hülêgû, to his son Kerî Malik, a certain Emir Ahmad and Juvaini. From thence onward Juvaini was to continue in the service of Hülêgû and his descendants until his death.

An incident had already occurred which showed the esteem in which he was held by the Mongol conqueror. A certain

Jamal-ad-Din, who was a party to the intrigue against Arghun, had handed Hülêgû a list of the officials whom he proposed to accuse before the Great Khan. Hülêgû at once replied that these were matters within Arghun’s own competence. Then, coming upon Juvaini’s name in the list, he added: 'If there is a charge against him let it be stated in my presence so that the matter may be investigated here and now and a decision given.' Whereupon Jamal-ad-Din withdrew his accusation and retired in confusion.

The great army had now crossed the Oxus and was marching through Khorasan, where they passed by the town of Khabushan (the present-day Quchan), 'which had lain desolate and in ruins from the first incursion of the Mongol army until that year, its buildings desolate and the qa'nats without water, and no walls still standing save those of the Friday mosque'. ‘Having observed the King’s interest and pleasure in restoring ruins,’ Juvaini drew his attention to the case of Khabushan. ‘He listened to my words and issued a yarlıgh for the repairing of the qa'nats, the erection of buildings, the establishment of a bazaar, the alleviation of the people’s lot and their re-assembly in the town. All the expense of re-building he met from the treasury so that no charge fell upon the people.’

Finally, in the late autumn of 1256, the Mongols converged from every side upon the Assassins' strongholds in Alamut, 'the Eagle’s Nest', to the north-east of Qazvin. Ruhn-ad-Din, the last feeble successor of the redoubtable Hasan-i-Sabîb, had been playing for time in the hope that the snows of winter would come to his aid and render a siege impracticable; but the weather remained unseasonably mild and, in the middle of November, he decided to surrender. For this purpose he asked for a yarlıgh granting him safe-conduct and this was drawn up by Juvaini, who must also have taken part in the actual negotiations. It was Juvaini too who composed the fath-nama or proclamation of victory announcing the final defeat and extirpation of the Assassins. He also tells how with Hülêgû’s permission he examined the famous library of Alamut, from which he selected many ‘choice books’ whilst confiding to the flames those which related to their heresy and error and were neither founded on
tradition nor supported by reason. Of these latter works, however, he fortunately preserved an autobiography of Hasan-i-Sabbah, from which he quotes large extracts in the third volume of his history.

With the destruction of Alamut accomplished Hülegü turned to his second objective, the conquest of Baghdad and the overthrow of the 'Abbásid Caliphate. How Alau, the Great Lord of the Tartars, captured the city of Baudar and starved the Caliph to death in 'a tower, all full of gold, silver and other treasures' may be read in the pages of Marco Polo. In point of fact, the unfortunate Caliph was probably wrapped in a carpet and beaten to death with clubs, such being the Mongols' practice in the execution of their own princes. However, Marco Polo's version of the preliminary interview between Hülegü and the Caliph agrees very closely with the account given by the famous Persian philosopher Nasir-ad-Din Tusi, who had been in the service of the Assassins and who now accompanied Hülegü to Baghdad.

Juvaini too had accompanied the conqueror, and a year later, in 1259, Hülegü appointed him governor of all the territories that had been directly held by the Caliphs, i.e. Baghdad itself, Arab Iraq or Lower Mesopotamia and Khuzistan. Hülegü died in 1265, but under his son Aqa Juvaini retained his position though nominally deputy to the Mongol Sughunchaq. For more than twenty years he continued to administer this great province and during this time did much to improve the lot of the peasants. He caused a canal to be dug from Anbar on the Euphrates to Kufa and the holy city of Najaf and founded 150 villages on its banks; and it was said, with some exaggeration, that he had restored the country to greater prosperity than it had enjoyed under the Caliphs.

Neither Juvaini himself nor his brother Shams-ad-Din, who united in his person the posts of Grand Vizier and sabih-divan, was without his enemies, and during their long tenure of office there were several attempts to encompass their ruin. However, intrigues of this sort had left the brothers comparatively unscathed until the latter years of Aqa's reign when a certain Majd-al-

Mulk, originally a protégé of the Juvainis, succeeded in gaining the ear, first of Arghun, Aqa's son, and then of Aqa himself, and laid against Shams-ad-Din the usual charges of being in league with the Mongols' most formidable enemies, the Mameluke Sultans of Egypt, and of having embezzled large sums from the Treasury. Shams-ad-Din succeeded in allaying the Il-Khan's suspicions, and finding him immune from attack Majd-al-Mulk now turned his attention to his brother. He persuaded Aqa that Juvaini, during his governorship of Baghdad, had misappropriated the enormous sum of 2,500,000 dinars and that this money was buried in his house.

In October, 1281, Aqa was on a hunting expedition in Upper Mesopotamia intending to proceed to his winter quarters at Baghdad; and Juvaini was sent on in advance to arrange for accommodation and commissariat. No sooner was he out of sight than Majd-al-Mulk repeated the old charge, and the Il-Khan at once dispatched certain of his emirs to follow Juvaini and investigate the matter. They overtook him at Takrit and informed him of Aqa's orders. 'I realized,' says Juvaini, 'that the matter was serious, that the statements of prejudiced persons had produced a deep impression on the King's mind, and that the demand for these "residues" was merely an excuse for obtaining the money they purposed to take from me, with which money, as they vainly believed, the water-tanks in my house were filled. To be brief, I accompanied the commissioners from Takrit to Baghdad, where I handed over to them everything that was in my house and treasury, gold and silver, precious stones and plate, clothes and in short everything that I had either inherited or acquired.' He then gave a declaration in writing that if thereafter so much as a dirham was found in his possession he should be held responsible and punished.

Learning of his predicament his brother Shams-ad-Din, who was in attendance on the Il-Khan, at once hurried to Baghdad, collected from his own and his children's houses all the gold and silver plate on which he could lay his hands, borrowed what
values he could from persons of consequence and offered all this wealth to Aqa, who was now approaching Baghdad, in the hope of propitiating him. It was all of no avail. Juvaini was held in confinement in his house while the Mongol officials searched for the money he was supposed to have buried, torturing his servants and digging up the graves of his children and kinsmen. Finding nothing they transferred Juvaini to the Qasr Musanna to languish as a prisoner whilst they returned to report to Aqa. However, certain of the Mongol princes and princesses, including Aqa’s favourite wife, intervened on Juvaini’s behalf, and finally, on the 17th of December, 1281, the Il-Khan was persuaded to order his release.

This attempt having failed, Majd-al-Mulk now caused Juvaini to be accused of maintaining a correspondence with the Mamelukes of Egypt, and in March, 1282, he set out from Baghdad to Hamadan, in the company of the Il-Khan’s commissioners in order to answer this charge before his accusers. On the 1st of April, the party having just crossed the pass of Asabad near Hamadan, they were met by certain of Aqa’s counters with the good news that the Il-Khan, finally convinced of Juvaini’s innocence, had restored him to favour and released his agents from custody. Upon reaching Hamadan, however, Juvaini learnt that Aqa had just died; and in the changed circumstances it was decided to retain him in confinement. This confinement was not of long duration, for soon there came the news that Tegüder, the brother of Aqa, a convert to Islam and known also by the Moslem name of Ahmad (he is the Acomat Soldan of Marco Polo), had succeeded to the throne and that one of his first acts had been to order Juvaini’s release.

The new ruler was then in Armenia. Juvaini went to join him there and afterwards accompanied him to the quriltai that was held in the Ala-Taq pastures to the north-east of Lake Van, near the headwaters of the Eastern Euphrates. Here the new governors were appointed to their various provinces; and Juvaini received back his old governorship of Baghdad. Tegüder was informed of the activities of Majd-al-Mulk and his associates and ordered an investigation. Majd-al-Mulk was found guilty

and condemned to death but before the sentence could be carried out he was seized and lynched by a party of Moslems and Mongols who ‘fell upon him, even wounding one another in their struggle to reach him, tore and hacked him to pieces, and even roasted and ate portions of his flesh.’

This account of his own triumph and his enemy’s discomfiture concludes the second of two tracts in which Juvaini has described the various intrigues against himself and his brother. His own end was now near at hand. There was open hostility between the new ruler and his nephew Arghun; and because the Juvinis stood high in his uncle’s favour and also because he shared the widespread belief that Shams-ad-Din had poisoned his father Aqa, Arghun was determined to bring about their ruin. Going to Baghdad he revived the old charge of embezzlement against Juvaini and began to arrest his agents and put them to the torture. One of these men having recently died he caused his body to be exhumed and flung upon the highway. Upon receiving news of this barbarity Juvaini, according to one account, was seized with a violent headache from which he shortly afterwards died. According to Dhababi, however, his death was due to a fall from his horse. Whatever the cause, he died in Mughan or Arran on the 5th of March, 1283, being about fifty-seven years of age, and was buried in Tabriz. His death would not in any case have been long delayed. In the next year Arghun dethroned and succeeded his uncle; he ordered the execution of Shams-ad-Din and his four sons and soon the Juvinia family was all but extinguished.

II. His Work

The History of the World-Conqueror was begun in Qara-Qorum in 1252 or 1253; and Juvaini was still working on it in 1260, when he had recently been appointed governor of Baghdad. In that year or soon afterwards he must have renounced the idea of continuing his history, for there are no references to events subsequent to that date. Of the conditions under which much of
his work was written we have Juvenal's own testimony. Commenting on the Mongol conquest of Khorasan he expresses himself in the following terms:

And though there were men free from preoccupations who could devote his whole life to study and research and his whole attention to the recording of events, yet he could not in a long period of time acquaint himself with the account of one single district. *How much more is this beyond the powers of the present writer*, who, despite his inclination thereto, has not a single moment for study save when, in the course of distant journeys, he snatcheth an hour or two, when the caravan halts, and writes down these histories! (I, 118; I, 152).

These conditions have left their traces on the history. Dates are sometimes omitted or incorrectly given, and the author occasionally contradicts himself. Such defects are understandable in an unrevised work; they are even more so in a work where there is evidence to show was never completed.

In one early MS. (B) there is a blank equivalent to 7 or 8 lines of the text at the chapter on Arghun (II, 262; ii, 525) and a much longer blank (over a page) at the end of the chapter on Möngke's ministers (III, 89). These blanks, as Muhammad Qazvini suggests, were probably left by the author for later additions which were never made. There are also references to non-existent chapters: to one on the capture of Herat (I, 118; I, 151) in Vol. I and to at least five—one on Chinigai, Carpini's 'protonotary', (III, 58; ii, 158), one on Eljigitu, the Mongol commander who sent an embassy to Louis IX (III, 62; ii, 590), and one on each of the missions to Möngke (III, 82; ii, 602)—in Vol. III.¹ Vol. III itself is evidence of incompleteness. In the original division of the text it formed the second volume of the work. The text is still so divided in at least three MSS. one of which (E) is based on a MS. contemporary with the author; and we have Juvenal's own testimony to this division in his introduction to Vol. III, where in summarizing the contents of *the previous volume* he enumerates the events recorded in Vols. I and II of the text as found in most MSS.

¹ In the translation the three volumes of the Persian text are referred to as parts in order to avoid confusion with the two volumes into which the translation itself is divided. Small roman numerals indicate the volumes of the translation.
the works of Western travellers such as Carpini, Rubruck and Marco Polo and with the Chinese and native Mongolian sources.

The History of the World-Conqueror at once became the great authority on the Mongol invasions and as such was freely utilized by both contemporary and subsequent historians, Arab and Persian. In Pococke's Latin translation of Barhebraeus (Oxford, 1663) parts of Juvaini became accessible, at second hand, to Western scholars also. His work was not, however, directly used in Europe until the 19th century with the appearance of Baron d'Ohs's Histoire des Mongoles depuis Tébingui Khan jusqu'à Timour Bey ou Tamerlan (1st edition 1824, 2nd edition 1834–5), which still provides the best, and certainly the most readable, survey of the whole Mongol period. D'Ohs's was unfortunately obliged to work on an indifferent manuscript, the only one then in the possession of the Bibliothèque Royale (now the Bibliothèque Nationale), which afterwards acquired the excellent MSS. on which Qazvini's text is based. Since d'Ohs's, Barthold, in his Turkestan, is the only historian who has made extensive use of Juvaini's work in the original, but being concerned only with the events that culminated in the actual invasion he does not touch upon the history of the Empire under Chingiz-Khan's successors. In the English edition of his work he was able to consult the first two volumes of Qazvini's monumental edition of the Persian text; but it was not until the publication of Vol. III in 1937 that the whole of Juvaini became accessible even to Orientalists. It is now presented, in an English translation, to a wider circle of readers.

Much is inevitably lost in translation. Unlike the later Rashid-ad-Din, whose language is plain and simple in the extreme, Juvaini was a master of what was already the traditional style of Persian prose literature. It is a style which disperses of all the rhetorical devices known to the Euphuistics. Word-plays are indulged in, whenever possible, and these are not merely puns as we understand them but what might be called visual puns, which appeal to the eye only, two words being identical in shape though perhaps entirely dissimilar in pronunciation.

III. HIS POINT OF VIEW

Ibn-al-Athir, in the preface to his account of the Mongol invasion, of which he was a contemporary, remarks that for years he had shirked from mentioning that event as being too horrible to record. It was, he protested, the greatest calamity that had ever befallen mankind. Juvaini, who was actually in the Mongols' service, could hardly be expected to echo such sentiments, and in fact he says much in his masters' praise and even attempts to justify the invasion as the fulfillment of the divine will. On the other hand, he was a devout and orthodox Mohammedan, and his real feelings cannot have been materially different from those of Ibn-al-Athir. Moreover, in Juvaini's

5 E. Denison Ross, The Persians, 123.
6 A Literary History of Persia, III, 68.
1 For a translation of the whole passage see Browne, A Literary History of Persia, II, 427–8.
case, there were traditional ties with the house of the Khorazm-Shahs—his grandfather as we have seen, had accompanied Muhammad on his flight from Bakh to Nishapur and had ended his days in the service of Muhammad’s son, Jalal-ad-Din—and he can hardly have looked back without regret upon the extinction of that dynasty. In fact, Juvaini, though denied the freedom of expression enjoyed by Ibn-al-Athir, is at no great pains to conceal his preference of the Moslem past to the Mongol present.

* * *

On the invasion itself he could of course express no opinion, but the wholesale massacres to which so many of the captured cities were subjected are always faithfully recorded together with all the accompanying atrocities. It is Juvaini too who tells the famous story of Chingiz-Khan in the mosque of Bokhara (I, 80–1; i, 103–4). Of the consequences of the invasion he speaks at times with the utmost frankness. He twice refers to the condition of hopeless desolation to which the conquerors had reduced his homeland, the once flourishing province of Khorasan (I, 75 and II, 269; i, 96–7, ii, 533). He also refers to the disastrous effects upon the pursuit of learning and then launches a bitter attack upon the new generation of officials, the product of a great social upheaval (I, 4–5; i, 6–8).

To one member of this class, Sharaf-ad-Din of Khorazm, he devotes a whole chapter (II, 262–82; ii, 525–46), in which he paints him in the blackest of colours and assails him with the coarsest of abuse. Sharaf-ad-Din, the son of a porter, had accompanied Chingiz-Temür from Khorazm to Khorasan at a time when ‘no reputable scribe’ was willing to undertake the journey because ‘it was intended to lay waste a Moslem country’. He owed his advancement to his knowledge of the Turkish language (II, 268; ii, 532). Another official received his appointment because he could write Mongolian in the Uighur character, which, as Juvaini sarcastically adds, ‘is in the present age, the essence of learning and proficiency’ (II, 260; ii, 523).

The Mongols themselves, if one disregards one or two appro-

brious references,* are never openly attacked, but there is perhaps an undertone of irony, and therefore of disapproval, in the various allusions to their addiction to strong drink. Ögedei, for example, is made to offer an apology for his inebriety. It was due, he said, to ‘the onset of sorrow which arises from grievous separation.’ He therefore chose to be drunk in order to find relief from that sorrow (III, 4; ii, 550). The ‘grievous separation’ he referred to was the loss of his brother Tolui, who, according to Juvaini, had drunk himself to death (III, 4; ii, 549).

But the real state of Juvaini’s feelings is most clearly revealed in the attitude he adopts towards the defeated Khorazm-Shahs. Muhammad is frequently criticized. His conquests are shown to have paved the way for the Mongol invasion (I, 52; i, 70). His campaigns against the Qara-Khitai, in particular, were undertaken without regard to a warning that this people formed ‘a great wall’ between the Moslems and ‘fierce enemies’ and ought therefore to be left in peace (II, 79 and 89; i, 347, 357). Having removed every obstacle in the way of the Mongol invasion he renders that invasion inevitable by commanding the execution of Chingiz-Khan’s ambassadors (I, 61; i, 79).

When the storm finally breaks, he is seized with panic and decides to disperse his forces and seek safety in flight; and his son Jalal-ad-Din is made to deliver a speech in which he strongly protests against the cowardice of such a policy and volunteers to lead the armies in person against the invader (II, 127; ii, 397). Muhammad, in short, is blamed for having needlessly provoked the Mongol invasion but also for having abjectly failed to repel it. Juvaini’s attitude, in fact, is that of the disappointed partisan; and only a partisan could write that Islam was heartbroken and the very stones wept tears of blood because of Muhammad’s death (II, 117; ii, 387).

Towards Muhammad’s son, Jalal-ad-Din, Juvaini’s attitude is one of unreserved admiration. He is presented everywhere as a figure of great physical courage. In the clash with Jöchi,

*II, 133 (ii, 405) (‘Tatar devils’) and 275 (539) (‘strangers to religion’); III, 141 (ii, 640) (‘their [the Isma’ilis] Maulana . . . has become the self of bastards’).

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before the outbreak of hostilities, he rescues his father who was in danger of being taken prisoner, and Juvaini vents his feelings in an opposite verse from the Shobnamā (I, 51–2; i, 69). As he plunges into the Indus after the final charge against the Mongols, the words of admiration are made to proceed from the lips of Chingiz-Khan himself (I, 107; i, 134–5). And again Juvaini quotes from the Shobnamā, comparing Jalāl-ad-Dīn with Rustam, the mythical hero of the Iranians. Such quotations are not of course fortuitous; by this device Juvaini is able to identify the Khorazm-Shahs with Iran and the Mongols with Turan, the hereditary foe. a

But not every allusion is hostile. There are passages in which Juvaini speaks of the Mongols in terms of high praise; and there is usually no reason for doubting his sincerity. It is clear, for example, that he had a genuine admiration for the military genius of Chingiz-Khan, of whom Alexander himself, he says, would have been content to be a pupil (I, 16–17; i, 24). He expatiates with enthusiasm on the efficiency of the Mongol army, its powers of endurance and its excellent discipline; and he compares it in these respects with the forces of Islam, very much to the latter’s disadvantage (I, 21–3; i, 29–31). He praises the Mongol princes for the spirit of harmony that prevailed amongst them and here again contrasts their behaviour with that of the Moslems (I, 30–2 and III, 68; i, 41–3, ii, 594). He commends them also for their informality and avoidance of ceremonial (I, 19; i, 26–7). Despite his strong Mohammedan prejudices he speaks with apparent approval of their tolerance in matters of religion (I, 18–19; i, 26). And finally he has much to say of their protection and patronage of the Moslems.

Several of the anecdotesa in the chapter ‘On the deeds and actions of Qa’an’ are concerned with the kindness shown by

a Cf. II, 136 and 139 (ii, 406, 409), where by this means Chingiz-Khan is likened to Afrasiyāb, and I, 73 (i, 95), where a quotation from the Shobnamā serves to illustrate Temür Malik’s boasting about his victories over the ‘Turanian host’.  

b Sec I, 161, 163, 179, etc. (i, 204, 206, 223, etc.).  

c but the jovial, good-natured Ögedei to Mohammedans in distress. Of Ögedei’s nephew, Mōngke, during whose reign the History of the World-Conqueror was written, it is stated that of all the sects and communities he most honoured and respected the people of Islam, upon whom he bestowed the most alms and conferred the greatest privileges’ (III, 79). And Juvaini speaks of him at times in terms hardly distinguishable from those applied to Moslem rulers (I, 85 and 195; i, 109, 239). He even confers upon him the exclusively Mohammedan title of ghazi or ‘victor against the infidel’ with reference to his execution of a group of Uighur nobles who had plotted, amongst other things, to massacre the Moslem population of Besh-Balikh (III, 61; ii, 589).

Mōngke’s mother, too, Princess Surqoqānī, is praised not only for her probity and administrative ability, but also for her patronage of Islam: though a Christian she would bestow alms upon Moslem divines and had provided a large sum for the endowment of a madrasa or theological college in Bokhara (III, 8–9; ii, 552–3).

It was not however sufficient to record the good qualities of the Mongol invaders; as an official in their service, Juvaini had to justify the invasion itself. This he has done by representing the Mongols as the instrument of the divine will.

He compares the invasion with the punishments visited on earlier peoples for their disobedience to God and in support of this analogy adduces a badīb or tradition of Mohammed to the effect that the destruction of the Moslems was to be by the sword (I, 12; i, 17). Another badīb refers to the horsemen whom God will send to exact vengeance on the wicked; and nothing is easier than to identify these horsemen with the Mongols (I, 17; i, 24). And to drive the point home, the Conqueror himself, in a speech directed to the people of Bokhara, is made to declare that he is the scourge of God (I, 81; i, 103).

This divine mission of the Mongols was particularly manifest in their destruction of the foes of Islam. Thus it was God who dispatched them against Küchtūg, the Naiman ruler of xlv
Qara-Khitai, who had crucified a Moslem divine upon the door of his madrasa (I, 55 ; i, 73); and the people of Kashghar, when the Mongols had expelled their persecutor and restored freedom of worship, perceived 'the existence of this people to be one of the mercies of the Lord and one of the bounties of divine grace' (I, 50; i, 67). God's purpose was also revealed in Hülegü's capture of the Isma'ili stronghold of Alamut, which Juvaini compares with the conquest of Khaibar, i.e. the Prophet's defeat and extermination of his Jewish adversaries at Khaibar near Medina (III, 138 ; ii, 638).

But their mission was not merely negative; their conquests actually had the effect of extending the boundaries of Islam. The transportation of craftsmen, saved by their skill from the fate of their fellow townsmen, to new homes in Eastern Asia, and the thronging of merchants to the new capital at Qara-Qorum had introduced a Moslem population to regions to which the 'True Faith' had never penetrated (I, 9; i, 13–14).

Even the massacres were a blessing from God; for by the manner of their death the slaughtered millions achieved the status and enjoyed the privileges of martyrs to the Faith (I, 10; i, 15). And here at least we may question Juvaini's sincerity and share the indignation expressed by d'Ohsion at arguments 'faits pour démontrer que c'est pour le bien des Musulmans que les Mongols sont venus les égorger'.

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How is one to reconcile these seemingly contradictions—on the one hand, the candid recital of Mongol atrocities, the lament for the extinction of learning, the thinly veiled criticism of the conquerors and the open admiration of their vanquished opponents; and on the other hand, the praise of Mongol institutions and Mongol rulers and the justification of the invasion as an act of divine grace? The contradictions are, however, apparent only. Juvaini's sympathies did indeed lie with the defeated dynasty; he had been brought up in the traditions of the Perso-Arabian civilization which the Mongols had all but destroyed; and in these circumstances he could scarcely be a whole-hearted supporter of the new régime. But the old order was dead and gone; there was no hope of its resurrection; and it was necessary to reach some kind of compromise. Without therefore glossing over the darker side of the picture Juvaini says whatever he truthfully can in the Mongols' favour. He extols their military and social virtues and rightly attributes the Moslems' defeat to the neglect of those virtues. He makes much of their destruction of anti-Moslem forces such as the Buddhist Qara-Khitayans and the heretic Isma'illis. He stresses the favourable attitude adopted by certain of the Mongols (and it is to be noted that in this respect he speaks only of specific individuals) towards the Mohammedan religion. And finally he endeavours to prove that the Mongol invasion was foreshadowed in the traditions of Mohammed and that it was in consequence a manifestation of the divine will. These theological arguments may not always carry conviction, but their object is clearly to reconcile the author and his readers to the inevitable. In short, Juvaini is a Moslem raised in the pre-Mongol tradition striving to adapt himself to the new conditions but everywhere betraying the prejudices and predilections of his upbringing.
and deliberate together a second time when all the aga and ini are assembled together." And from Batu there would come messengers saying that [221] if the Khanate was settled on Mengü Qa'an most of the advantages thereof would accrue to them. But since they looked with the gaze of puereility and petulance; and had not been chastened and corrected by experience of life, they persisted in these ideas. And as for Qadaq, for fear of the effects of his foolish words and immature thoughts, he agreed with their ideas of opposition. And though messengers came from every side bidding them hasten the calling of the qurilhai; they persisted in their lassitude and procrastination, planning schemes behind the curtain of opposition and casting the dice of counsel on the chequer-board of desire; and they still held back from doing what was expedient. Finally a messenger came from the princes saying that they were gathered together in the presence [of Mengü]. Accordingly Naqu set out to join them, and was followed by Khoja, and afterwards by Ghaimish, as shall be related in the chapter on the accession of the World-Emperor Mengü Qa'an; when through shortsightedness and vanity things came to such a pass that the understanding of the wise struggled in the mire of the thought thereof and could find no way out.

[XXXVIII]

OF TUSHI AND THE ACCESSION OF BATU 1 IN HIS STEAD

When Tushi, who was the eldest son, had gone to Qulan-Bashi to join Chingiz-Khan and had returned from thence, the predestined hour arrived. And of his sons, Boghal, 2 Hordu, Batu, Sibaqan, Tangut, Berke and [222] Berkecher, these seven, 6

6 i.e. the elder and younger brothers.
1 On the reign of Batu, the founder of the Golden Horde, see Vermesky, The Mongols and Russia, 140-9, Grousset, L'Empire des Steppes, 470-4, Spuler, Die goldene Horde, 10-32.
2 Reading BWTL for the BMHL of the text. Rashid-ad-Din has BWWAL which is Boral or Bo'ol, and BWQAL, i.e. Bogul. Bos is in the Western pronunciation of the Mongol name Bo'ol meaning "slave". See Pelliot, Hordes d'Ori, 52-4. Bo'ol, who appears in Lane-Poole, The Mohammedan Dynasties, as Teval, was the grandfather of the famous general Nogai, the Nogai of Marco Polo.

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had come of age; and Batu succeeded his father and became ruler of the kingdom and his brothers. And when Qa'an came to the throne of the Empire Batu reduced and subjugated all the territory adjoining his own, including all that remained of the Quschaq, the Alan, the As and the Rus, and other lands also such as Bulghar, Magas, 3 etc.

And Batu abode in his own encampment, which he had set up in the region of the Eil; 4 and he built a town there which is called Sarai; 5 and his word was law in every land. He was a king that inclined towards no faith or religion; he recognized only the belief in God and was blindly attached to no sect or creed. His bounty was beyond calculation and his liberality immeasurable. The kings of every land and the monarchs of the horizons and everyone else came to visit him; and before their offerings, which were the accumulation of ages, could be taken away to the treasury, he had bestowed them all upon Mongol and Moslem and all that were present, and heeded not whether it was much or little. And merchants from every side brought him all manner of wares, and he took everything and doubled the price of it several times over. And he wrote drafts on the Sultans of Rum and Syria and granted them yarilights; [223] and no one that came to visit him departed without achieving his purpose.

When Gündik Khan succeeded to the Khanate, Batu, at his request and entreaty, set out to meet him. When he had reached Ala-Qamaq the death of Gündik Khan occurred. He halted in that place, and the princes came to visit him from every side; and they settled the Khanate upon Mengü Qa'an, the account whereof will be given in the chapter on Mengü Qa'an. And

3 MKS. Magas, the Meget, etc., of the Secret History, was actually the capital of the Alans or Ossetes. See Minorsky, Caucasica III, 232-4.
4 AYTLY. The Volga. Carpi was the first Western writer to call the river by its Russian name. Even Rubruck calls it Erdis. See Rockhill, 8, n. 2. The name was given to the Volga by the Bulgars and Avars; and til is to this day the Chuvash word for 'river'. See Bartheol, Histoire des Turcs, 22.
5 This is Chaucer's 'Saray', in the land of Tartary'. Sarai (called afterwards 'Old Sarai') to distinguish it from the 'New Sarai' founded by Berke) was situated on the eastern bank of the Akhtuba, about 65 miles north of Astrakhan. See Vermesky, op. cit., 141 and 151, Spuler, op. cit., 266-8.

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from thence he went back, and came to his own ordū, and busied himself with pleasures and amusements. And whenever a campaign was being organized he would, in accordance with the exigencies of the occasion, dispatch armies led by his relations, kinsfolk and commanders. When, in the year 653/1255-5, Mengü Qa’an held another quriltai, he sent Sartaq, who was an adherent of the Christian faith. Sartaq had not yet arrived when the commandment of God was fulfilled and the inevitable state came to pass in the year...? And when Sartaq arrived, Mengü Qa’an received him with honour and respect and distinguished him with all manner of kindnesses above all his equals; and he dismissed him with such wealth and riches as befit a great a king. He had not yet reached his ordū but had only come to... when he too departed to join his father. Mengü Qa’an sent his emirs to console his wives and brothers; and he commanded that Borashaquin Khatun, who was Batu’s chief wife, should issue orders and educate Ulaghchī, the son of Sartaq, until he grew up and succeeded his father. But Fate had not willed it thus, and Ulaghchī passed away that same year.

[XXXIX]

OF THE CONQUEST OF BULGĦAR

AND THE TERRITORY OF THE AS AND THE RUS

When Qa’an held the great quriltai for the second time, they deliberated together concerning the extirpation and subjugation

6 It. the death of Batu.
7 There is considerable divergence in the sources as to the date of Batu’s death, but it seems most likely that he died in 1255. See Spuler, op. cit., 32, n. 208.
8 BORQČYN. On Borashaquin—the name is the feminine form of the Mongol bora ‘grey’—see Pelliot, op. cit., 39-44. According to Rashid-ad-Din (Khetaqurav, 111) she belonged to the Alehi tribe of the Tatar.
9 According to Rashid-ad-Din Ulaghchī—‘the man in charge of post horses’—was not the son but the brother of Sartaq, but see Pelliot, op. cit., 34-9.

Bulghar is used in this chapter both for the town (on which see above, p. 42, n. 12) and for the people. On the Volga Bulgars see Vernadsky, Ancieni Russie, 222-8.

2 This and the following chapter have already appeared in print in Minorsky, Causescia III, 222-3.

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of all the remaining rebels; and it was decided to seize the lands of the Bulghar, the As and the Rus, which bordered on the camping grounds of Batu; for they had not completely submitted being deluded by the size of their territory. He therefore deputed certain princes to aid and assist Batu, viz. Mengü Qa’an and his brother Böchek; his own sons Güyük Khan and Qadaghian; of the other princes, Kögelin, Būri and Baidar; Batu’s brothers, Hordu and Tangu; and several other princes as well as Stībete Bahadūr from amongst the chief commanders. The princes departed each to his own place of residence in order to organize their forces and armies; and in the spring they each of them set forth from his own territory and hastened to carry out this undertaking. They came together in the territory of the Bulghar. The earth echoed and reverberated from the multitude of their armies, and at the size and tumult of their forces the very beasts stood amazed. First they took by storm the city of Bulghar, famous throughout the world for the strength of its position and its ample resources; and as a warning to others they slew the people or led them captive. And from hence they proceeded to the land of the Rus and conquered that country as far as the city [225] of Magas, the inhabitants of which were as numerous as ants or locusts, while its environs were entangled with woods and forests such that even a serpent could not penetrate them. The princes all halted on the outskirts of the town, and on every side they built roads wide enough for three or four wagons to pass abreast. And they set up

3 BWCK. The Büjik of the Secret History and the Bichac or Bichac of Carpini. Böchek was actually Mongke’s half-brother. See Rashid-ad-Din ed. Blochet, 207, where there is a blank for his mother’s name. He must be the brother of Mongke and Aržīn Būke, ‘by the father’, who according to Rubruck had captured the goldsmith William Buchier ‘in Hungary, in a town called Belgrade’. See Rockhill, 222.
4 At this place, Minorsky, op. cit., 222, n. 2, assumes a great lacuna in the text. Hence the impression is given that Magas was captured during the operations in Russia, whereas it was actually taken in the course of a subsequent campaign in the Caucasus.
5 In Persian magar means ‘fly’, and the following reference to ants, locusts and a serpent is therefore an example of the figure known as טומיה. See above, p. 117, n. 7.
mangonels opposite the walls, and after a space of several days left nothing of the city but its namesakes, and took great booty. And they gave orders to cut off the right ears of the people, and two hundred and seventy thousand ears were counted. And from thence the princes turned homewards.

[XL]

OF THE HORSEMEN OF THE KELER AND BASHGHIRD

When the Rus, the Qischaq and the Alan had been annihilated, Batu resolved to proceed to the destruction of the Keler and Bashghird, who are large nations professing the Christian faith; and are said to border on the land of the Franks. With this object in mind he arrayed his armies and set out in the new year. And that people was rendered arrogant by the magnitude of their numbers, the greatness of their power and the strength of their arms; and when they heard the report of Batu’s approach they too set out to meet him with four hundred thousand horsemen, each of whom was famous in war and considered flight disgrace. Batu sent his brother Sibaqan on in advance with ten thousand men to spy out their numbers and send word of the extent of their strength and might. Sibaqan set forth in obedience to his command and at the end of a [226] week came back and reported that they were double the size of the Mongol army, all men of war and battle. When the two armies drew close to each other Batu went up on to a hilltop; and for one day and night he spoke to no one but prayed and lamented; and he bade the Moslems also assemble together and offer up

[XLII]

OF CHAGHATAI

Chaghatai was a fierce and mighty khan, stern and severe. When the lands of Transoxiana and Turkestan were subjugated, his camping grounds and those of his children and armies extended from Besh-Baligh to Samarcand, fair and pleasant places fit to be the abode of kings. In spring and summer he had his quarters in Almaligh and Quyas, which in those seasons [227] resembled the Garden of Iram. He constructed large pools (which they call kol) in that region for the hogan of the waterfowl. He also built a town called Qutlug. The

4 The Sayo.
5 As Minorsky, Causica III, 223, n. 3, has pointed out, Carpini saw in Batu’s camp on the lower Volga ‘tents made of linen. They are large and quite handsome, and used to belong to the king of Hungary.’ (Rockhill, 10.)
6 The battle against the Hungarians was won at Mohi, on the right bank of the river Sayo, above its junction with the Tisza, on 11th April, 1241. On this occasion quarrels arose between Batu and Sübekey, see the translation of the latter’s Chinese biography in Pelliot, [Herbe F’Or.], 111. The Mongols spent the summer of 1241 on the Hungarian plain and on 25th December, 1241, crossed the Danube on the ice.’ [Minorsky, op. cit., 228.]
7 See above, p. 237, n. 3.
8 Or village (dili). See above, p. 45, n. 5.